UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

Conditioning the Mind to Exciting Words - - - - - - - - *John Malick*

Cardenas, Master of Mexico - - - - - - - - - - *George L. Thompson*

Look to Scandinavia - - - *E. R. Bowen*

Symbols of Peace - - - *Brent Dow Allinson*

THE STUDY TABLE

VOLUME CXX NUMBER 11

Chicago, February 7, 1938

PRICE FIFTEEN CENTS

UNITY

Established 1878

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

Published Semi-Monthly Until Further Notice

Subscription $3.00 Single Copies 15 cents

UNITY PUBLISHING CO., Abraham Lincoln Centre, 700 Oakwood Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

"Entered as Second-Class Matter May 24, 1935, at the Post Office at Chicago, Illinois, under Act of March 3, 1879."

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES, *Editor* CURTIS W. REESE, *Managing Editor*

Board of Directors

MRS. S. O. LEVINSON, President
MRS. E. L. LOBDELL, Vice-President
MRS. IRWIN S. ROSENFELS, Treasurer
MRS. FRANCIS NEILSON
MRS. O. T. KNIGHT
MR. C. W. REESE
MISS MATILDA C. SCHAFF
MRS. E. E. SMITH
MR. FRANCIS NEILSON
MRS. IDA S. RANDALL
MR. JAMES E. TUCKER
ALSON H. ROBINSON
ROBERT C. SCHALLER
FRED W. SHORTER
CLARENCE R. SKINNER
SYDNEY STRONG
ARTHUR L. WEATHERLY

Editorial Contributors

W. WALDEMAR W. ARGOW
DOROTHY WALTON BINDER
RAYMOND B. BRAGG
TARAKNATH DAS
PERCY M. DAWSON
ALBERT C. DIEFFENBACH
JAMES A. FAIRLEY
ZONA GALE
A. EUSTACE HAYDON
JESSE H. HOLMES
LOUIS L. MANN
JOSEPH ERNEST MCAFEE
H. R. MUSSEY
M. C. OTTO

Poetry Editors

LUCIA TRENT
RALPH CHEYNEY

Washington Correspondent

BRENT DOW ALLINSON

Foreign Representatives

AUSTRALIA—CHARLES STRONG
AUSTRIA—STEFAN ZWEIG
BULGARIA—P. M. MATTHÉEFF
ENGLAND—HARRISON BROWN, FRED HANKINSON, REGINALD REYNOLDS
FRANCE—G. DEMARTIAL, ROMAIN ROLLAND
GERMANY—THEODOR HAHN
INDIA—RABINDRANATH TAGORE
JAPAN—NOBUICHIRO IMAOKA
PALESTINE—HANS KOHN
RUSSIA—ALINA HUEBSCH

Contents

EDITORIAL—
- Notes 167
- Jottings—J. H. H. 169

ARTICLES—
- Conditioning the Mind to Exciting Words—JOHN MALICK 170
- Cardenas, Master of Mexico—GEORGE L. THOMPSON 172
- Look to Scandinavia—E. R. BOWEN 174
- Symbols of Peace—BRENT DOW ALLINSON 176

THE STUDY TABLE—
- Niemoller—KARL M. CHWOROWSKY 178
- A Treatise on Sterilization—JOHN HAYNES HOLMES 178

CORRESPONDENCE—
- In Reply to Mr. Dudley—ISIDORE A. BLANCH 179
- The Power of Ostracism—WILLIAM FLOYD 179
- Against Cutting Relief—ALICE STONE BLACKWELL 180

THE FIELD—
- Colonial Problems 1938—*Women's International League for Peace and Freedom* 166
- Governor LaFollette Proclaims Wisconsin Coöperative Week—*Coöperative League News Service* 180
- Helen Keller Sunday—*American Foundation for the Blind* 180
- As British Pacifists See It—*Nofrontier News Service* 180
- V. D. and War—*World Events* 180

The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

Colonial Problems 1938

The Executive Committee of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom meeting in Basle, January 5-9, makes the following statement:

The demands made today by Hitler's Germany place the colonial question in the forefront in all discussion of international affairs.

The economic motives given for these demands, that is the necessity of procuring the raw materials lacking to Germany, and the need of new territories for her excess population, have little foundation in fact.

Statistics prove:

that raw materials are produced by colonies only to a very small extent, the greater part not coming from colonial territories;

that Germany is using her available resources of raw material largely with the needs of war economy in view;

that Germany is not more densely populated than several other countries and

that systematic efforts are made to increase the population.

The true purpose behind imperialist demands is to acquire strategic positions in the colonies and the raw materials from which the countries concerned might be cut off in times of war. The expansionist and aggressive policy of Hitler's government is an illustration of this truth.

As regards the question of equality of rights, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom rejects any attempt to secure equality through injustice, by extending the colonial régime which it condemns.

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom therefore views with anxiety the tendency of certain influential circles to treat this question under pressure of events as a matter for political bargaining.

It believes that no government should take upon itself the right of disposing of peoples like merchandise, least of all in favor of a country which, like Hitler's Germany, preaches and practises racial discrimination.

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, in all its resolutions, has taken a definite stand against the principle of colonization. The mandate system may be considered a step towards the final independence of the native peoples concerned.

As a peaceful, transitory solution, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom proposes the internationalization of all existing mandates and the extension of the mandate system to all colonies in the immediate future.

—Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

(*Continued on page* 180)

UNITY

"He Hath Made of One All Nations of Men"

Volume CXX MONDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 1938 No. 11

RIGHT MAKES MIGHT

Neither let us be slandered from our duty by false accusations against us, nor frightened from it by menaces of destruction to the government nor of dungeons to ourselves. Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us, to the end, dare to do our duty as we understand it.

—Abraham Lincoln.

A FOREIGN SCARE TO DIVERT ATTENTION

Early in January Mr. John T. Flynn, of the *New Republic,* had some things to say in that paper about the foreign policy of the administration. His text was the "Panay" incident and the attempt made to use that occasion to rally public sentiment to the support of the President. That the President needed such rallying in the worst way was evident enough, and the bombing of the "Panay" came as a godsend to his purpose. But this was only a beginning, said Mr. Flynn—who then proceeded to make a few statements which he said "no one will believe," but which are nevertheless "absolutely true and in good time will become quite obvious." The statements were as follows:

> "The President is preparing to lead the country into a vast program of armament as a means of spending money to avert another depression—houses for the dogs of war rather than the mutts of peace.
>
> "He is preparing deliberately to sell to this country a war scare as a prelude to the armament program.
>
> "He is attempting to shift the psychological reactions of the nation to the patriotic motif in order to distract attention from the disintegrating domestic situation.
>
> "One reason for this is to build up the attitude embodied in the slogan 'Stand by the President.' . . . This is to be the President's chief resistance to the clamor for investigations of his regime which will presently become insistent."

Several weeks have passed since the *New Republic* editor made these statements. Have events during these weeks tended to show that he was right or wrong? The armament program made a prompt appearance, just as Mr. Flynn promised—a billion dollars demanded for new extensions of army and navy. That we need any such expenditure for defense is ridiculous, but it is mighty convenient for "spending money to avert another depression." Next came the President's call for new spy legislation against Japanese spies, followed by the despatch of four battle-cruisers to Australia. If this isn't "selling a war-scare," what is it? As to "the patriotic motif," it is being sounded daily in Congress and throughout the land. John T. Flynn, of the *New Republic,* is right. The war crisis is rapidly approaching.

WHAT TO BELIEVE ABOUT RUSSIA

What indeed? Two recent events have shown conclusively how difficult it is to be sure of anything about the land of the Soviets. The first is the report of the Dewey Commission—John Dewey, Suzanne La Follette, Benjamin Stolberg, et al.,—which has been investigating the conspiracy trials and the case of Trotsky. The report denounces the trials as frauds—nay, worse, as a deliberate and ruthless conspiracy, still going on, to destroy innocent men and thus purge the nation of opponents of the existing regime. Not only was no effort made at these trials "to ascertain the truth," but every effort was made to manufacture evidence now proved to be false. Says Dewey in summary:

> "It is not too much to say that, particularly as this new evidence accumulated, the members of the commission have been without exception appalled by the utterly discreditable character of the whole Moscow trial proceedings, at once flimsy and vicious. Others, like a distinguished colleague of mine who declined to share our labors, may still take the position that it is impossible to prove a negative. It is, however, possible to prove beyond reasonable doubt, the existence of a frame-up, and I submit that the commission has done just that.
>
> "The implications of this finding are, of course, profoundly disturbing. These implications are not a matter of intellectual speculation; they have been fulfilled and demonstrated by the events which followed close upon the trials. The continuing arrests and executions of Soviet officials and citizens on charges of terrorism, wrecking, sabotage, 'Trotskyism,' etc., have strengthened the suspicion of thousands of genuine friends of revolutionary Russia that the present regime is seeking to identify political opposition to itself with criminal activity against the Soviet Union and people."

The second event is the publication in the January 1st issue of the *Saturday Evening Post* of an article written by a great American engineer, Mr. John Littlepage, who has worked in Russia for ten years past. As a result of his experience, this man believes that most of the men executed, imprisoned, or exiled were guilty. Industrial sabotage he describes as "a commonplace," and "often bears strong evidence of being directed and

organized in high places." He believes there is a civil war going on in Russia—the "outs" have conspired to overthrow the "ins," and have "resorted to underground conspiracy and industrial sabotage because they had no legitimate means of waging a political struggle under the Soviet system." Where lies the truth? Who can say? But this must be said—that, wherever it lies, the situation in Russia is disquieting in the extreme. It's that ghastly dilemma again to which we have referred more than once in these columns! If the victims of the conspiracy trials are not guilty as charged, then is Stalin a monster of unmatched cruelty and his rule an unprecedented reign of terror. If the victims, however, are guilty, then is Russia being devoured by a cancer of dishonor, betrayal, and treason.

AND NOW, ROUMANIA

Events in Roumania have been well reported in the newspapers, but have attracted little public attention. This is probably because Roumania seems to most people to be a kind of Ruritania—a light-opera country where peasants dance and disguised dukes make love to bashful milkmaids. As a matter of fact, Roumania is a nation of central importance in contemporary Europe. Entering into the World War on the side of the Allies, it was speedily conquered by Germany, and then rewarded at the Versailles peace table with large slices of dismembered Hungary. A dynasty, exploited by a proud and scheming queen, has joined connections with various centers of political influence in southeastern Europe. A king of disreputable life, low-grade intelligence, and dictatorial ambitions, is now juggling politics in a way and apparently to the end of making Roumania one more Fascist country and joining it to the group of Fascist powers which seems now to dominate the continent. Informed opinion seems to agree that what happens in Roumania these next few months will in all probability determine the whole course of European history in the days ahead. If Carol fails in his terroristic purposes, appropriately marked by anti-Semitic attacks of the truest Nazi type, then Fascism will be checked at just that point where it most needs to be checked at this moment. If, on the other hand, Carol and his minority premier consolidate their power and thus place Roumania beneath the iron heel, then we may expect in due time that smashing assault by Germany on Czechoslovakia through to the Ukraine which has for so long now been the nightmare of France and Britain and the democratic world generally. Curiously enough, the one surely moderating influence in the situation seems to be the King's mistress, Mme. Lupesque. Part Jew, not beautiful but highly intelligent, modest, retiring, but firmly exercising control over a weak lover, this strange woman may yet dispel the menace which recent events have so suddenly precipitated on the landscape. Watch Roumania—this is now the motto for those who would understand Europe and foresee what is coming. Bucharest may or may not be a new Sarajevo.

THE SUPREME COURT

How happily this Supreme Court controversy has ended at last! One wonders, as one contemplates a bench now safely liberal, what all the shooting was about a year ago. Nothing could be finer than the President's appointment of Stanley Reed to the Sutherland vacancy—an ideal appointment, it seems to us, in every sense of the word. This is Mr. Roosevelt at his best, which is very high indeed, as the appointment of Senator Black was certainly Mr. Roosevelt at his worst, which in this case at least was very low. Now that this whole tale is told, for it is incredible that it can ever be opened up again, is there any one left anywhere, including the President himself, who would do over again the famous court-packing performance? We doubt if Mr. Cummings, who is credited, or rather discredited, with the conception of this legislative infant, would today be willing to recognize his own child. What we see here, as in so many instances of the kind, is time as the solvent of all troubles—and time not at long range but at short intervals! Mr. Roosevelt, who complained a year ago that he had made no appointments to the Court, and compared himself in this respect unfavorably with other presidents, will probably in the end appoint more judges than any other president in our history, and fix the character of our Supreme Court for a generation. In the face of such experience, how ridiculous to talk about the unchanging character of the Court, and to accuse it of laying a dead hand upon progress! The nation's highest tribunal changes more slowly than the other two coordinate branches of the government—just as the makers of the Constitution intended, that sober judgment might be had on fundamental questions! But the point is it *changes,* and therewith insures rather than impedes progress. What happened last year was an attack of hysteria. It gives one new confidence in democracy, and especially in the institutions and people of America, that the country refused to catch this hysteria, but kept its head and thus preserved the republic from irreparable damage if not ultimate disaster.

THE CHURCH IS CATCHING UP

It is a significant commentary on the status of the church that the declaration of the Church of England, in its new statement of doctrine, in favor of evolution, is front-page news. There can be "no objection to a theory of evolution," runs the report signed by the Anglican Commission, at least as "drawn from the two creation narratives in Genesis, since it is generally agreed among educated Christians that these are

mythological in origin and that their value for us is symbolic rather than historical." Now let us look at some dates for a moment! Darwin's *Origin of Species* was published in 1859. Lyell published his *Principles of Geology* twenty-one years before this date, in 1838, and Herbert Spencer his *Principles of Biology* fifteen years after, in 1874. Thomas Huxley published his *Man's Place in Nature* in 1863, and Darwin his *Descent of Man* in 1871. Meanwhile, Wallace, Haeckel, Romanes, Fiske, and countless others were at work, establishing evolution as firmly as gravitation. The religious implications of the evolution theory were emphasized as early as the 80's by Henry Ward Beecher, Lyman Abbott, Minot J. Savage, Joseph Le Conte, and other enlightened clergymen and scholars. The higher criticism of the Bible, as showing the mythological character of the early scriptural material, had been flourishing for nearly a century. And now, two full generations later, comes the Church of England to affirm what science has long since accepted as a commonplace. Must the churches always come in on the slow freight in this fashion? Can our ecclesiastical bodies never escape this "lag" which besets them, apart from the testimony of the few clear-visioned prophets who dare to recognize truth while it is still fresh? The answer to such questions is to be found in the phenomena of creeds, and dogmas, and faiths—the whole paraphernalia of a static system of belief. So long as religion is tied up with theology as a fixed body of doctrine, it will drag hopelessly behind the procession of progress. Only when the church is as free as the open mind, will it keep pace with the march of thought.

THIS MORTAL MUST PUT ON IMMORTALITY

The case of Dean Noe, of St. Mary's Cathedral in Memphis, is interesting. For nearly ten years, the Dean tells us, he has been giving up various foods. Last year, according to his own account, he subsisted entirely on oranges. Since January 2nd of this year, until his collapse, he had partaken of neither food nor water except the wafer and sip of wine at the communion table. His purpose, as he states it, was to prove that "man can here and now put on the fullness of the godhead bodily." Depending progressively less upon physical sustenance, he attempted so to build up a spiritual strength from God, to animate the soul so perfectly, as to make food for the body unnecessary. Paul wrote centuries ago that "this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality." This has always been interpreted as meaning beyond the grave. But Dean Noe sees no reason why it should not be made true here and now. As this editorial is written, Bishop Maxon, of the Tennessee diocese, has removed Dean Noe from his office, in the belief that he is not his "normal self." All this raises interesting questions! Thus, why is not Dean Noe to be classified as a saint? If he is insane, where is the dividing line to be drawn between his insanity and the sanctity of the holy men and women of history? What is sanctity, that it is to be denied today and acclaimed yesterday? Again, if the church believes in miracles, as it says it does, why should it not believe that they may still be possible? Dean Noe is attempting little other than is recorded in dozens of passages in Scripture—Jesus in the wilderness, for example, or the raising of Lazarus! Why is the church all at once so skeptical? Why doubt God's power to help Noe in the good old-fashioned way? On the other hand is the riddle of asceticism, which consists of the ironical fact that, in the very attempt to get rid of material things, these things suddenly become of primary importance. Dean Noe would put food out of his life—and lo, the food he eats, or doesn't eat, becomes the only thing that anybody knows or cares about him. For the moment at least, Noe has become not a saint but a stomach. What is wrong here, we believe, is not the Dean's sacrifice but his metaphysics. There is no such duality as he imagines between body and soul, mortal and immortal, natural and supernatural, flesh and spirit. All things are one, and life in all its phases is a divine unity.

Jottings

Lissauer, author of the famous "Hymn of Hate," died this past year. There seem to be persons in Washington who are eager to take his place in this new year.

Koussevitsky, the distinguished leader of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, left the platform at a concert in Pittsburgh in protest against the late-comers. We wonder what would happen if ministers should leave their pulpits in similar protest. When would the service ever begin—and when would it ever end?

A Vermont church recently displayed the legend —*"A conservative is one who worships dead radicals."* And this was in—Vermont!

The Washington Cathedral (Protestant Episcopal) has appointed three "honorary canons," to serve as occasional preachers. These canons are William Adams Brown (Presbyterian), John R. Mott (Methodist), and Douglas Freeman, biographer of Robert E. Lee (Baptist). We hail this as a noble precedent of Christian unity. A Cathedral is worthy of its name when it serves religious fellowship in this spirit.

A wandering planet just missed hitting the earth a few weeks ago. The margin was only 400,000 miles —a perilously small figure astronomically. Astronomers agree it was a close shave—like the next war, which has come so near so many times in this past year to smashing up our civilization.

UNITY has been criticized for saying harsh things about John L. Lewis. Now that these same things, and a good deal more, are being said by David Dubinsky, President of the Ladies Garment Workers Union, third largest affiliate of the C. I. O., perhaps our charges will be believed. No man stands quite so flatly in the path of labor's progress today as Mr. Lewis. And, like Mr. Dubinsky, we believe in industrial unions!

J. H. H.

Conditioning the Mind to Exciting Words

JOHN MALICK

We are thinking of the succession of words in our time that have raised a flood of hysteria one year, gone out the year after, to make way for the next of their kind. Who are making them? In what home, and school, and church is the material being made to fuel all the words of the next fifty years? Are we making them? Presumably, around the firesides, in the seats, in the pews, in the forums, in the columns, the gullibles are being shaped to be stirred by the words in the years just ahead. One is going to belong to the easily combustible, quickly ignitible, soft-coal minds that can be set off with a match, or to the anthracite minds that you have to coax along with a good foundation.

As far as we are making minds for the next twenty-five years, we should like them to be of the non-ignitible kind that can hear all words without batting an eye or turning a hair; that can take them on the tongue and pronounce them, discuss them without accelerating the heart beat enough to register on those instruments they use now to see if the witness is lying. We should want our people to be the perpetual despair of all who heat people's minds with the usual things that stir to frenzy. For most words that excite in religion, that make politics and social theory those terrible, impending things always about to fall, we should want those we make here to be not tinder for the flame but a bucket of clear, cold water.

It is interesting to try the words of one's generation on different companies and note the effect. Almost everyone is afraid of some word but not all of the same words. Words that cause a riot in one circle are matters of indifference in others. One has to know his circle and what words to use in the different circles to get the effect. Pick the right word, and almost anyone will stiffen up at once at the mention of it; get excited, vehement, panicky; think you are not all you should be if you do not get as excited with him.

Any fear might come with us, or be put into us after we get here. Fear of words is all put into us after we arrive. They did not have words when the things were put into us that we bring into the world with us. Recent observation has reduced the old, born-with-us, instinctive fears, leaving only two or three, fear of falling and of loud sounds, and the like. All others are put into us after we arrive on this scene, put into us usually to make life easier for some one, often disguised as for our good. The more likely reason is to make it easier for mother and nurse-maid at first, easier for teacher and pastor later, easier for policeman, politician, moralist and salesman through all our years. From our cradle to our last conscious minute, someone is always making us afraid of something.

Fears must have had some value at one time. Fear of fur, which the psychologists discuss so much, must have had saving value for a long time. It was likely a good thing for those little, scampering, furry things to run to cover at the sight of fur. It must have taken ages for four-footed, troubled mothers to get that into those little irresponsible heads frolicking about the den. The safe side was that anything that wore fur was no friend of their family. Now, this fear is not so useful. The last bear downtown was killed a long time ago. Fear of fur now would cause one to miss more than he would gain; miss the pets around, miss the zoo, miss one inside the fur coat he might like to know. If there is any way of getting one fear out and another in, it would be more useful downtown now to get the fear of a bear out and the fear of a bookmaker in.

Now there is a name for it and a technique. Turn to the index of the books we used and it is not there, but in the new books you will find it,"conditioning." If, for any reason, we have a fear, we can ground it deeper in or ease it out. It seems to be a matter of what gets associated with the word, or the object the word names, which is what happened to us the first few times we heard the word, or saw the thing itself. One as child or man may go into panic at the sight of a policeman. The wrong fact, that a policeman is the sworn enemy of children, got associated and always trots out with the word, or sight of him. We understand that you can build a collection of horrors around a baby's bottle so that it will scream at sight of it, scared out of its little wits, tensing every muscle, nature's way of getting ready to stand the worst, letting out lusty yells, nature's way of scaring the thing off or calling for help. If the bottle is

introduced a few times at first with beating a pan, a cross dog bounding in, and sticking pins into the baby, these things soon will come to be thought of as going naturally with a bottle of milk. In the usual experience there is no such connection, a bottle of milk being among the safest and gentlest of objects.

Mr. Aldous Huxley in *Brave New World* deals with the possibilities. With the new knowledge, everyone can be prepared for just the place he will fill, just the amount of taste and knowledge he will need and can use, correcting the difficulty of unhappy people educated beyond their jobs. Those who run elevators which offer no great scope, would have put into them only what could be capitalized. Living in cities, doing that kind of job, it would be better to condition them to inexpensive tastes. Flowers being expensive, and little chance to raise them in the city as it will be, it is better to condition the love of flowers out of the babies. This was done by showing them flowers, always accompanying the sight of them with some terrifying thing, such as an explosion, so this would be all that flowers would suggest, and all disagreeable. They would grow up hating them. It saved them from an expensive and ungratified taste as adults. A little jaunty and exaggerated, but illustrative of what can be done.

Words are like that. To one it will be a fine word. Sound it and it calls up all sorts of things pleasant to remember. To another, the same word calls up a whole string of associations, a regular nightmare of things. The same word that in Moscow is the most loved word in the language, with the most fair associations, is the most hated word in Berlin. If one is going to stay in Russia comfortably, he ought to condition that word in. If he wants to stay comfortably in Berlin, he ought to condition that word out.

When a word first comes in, it may suggest only bad. It is then "unspeakable"; do not have it spoken in our presence, it is so bad. The word, "Christian," we suppose first made people livid with rage. Those disposed to apoplexy at the time, no doubt, were not allowed to hear it and get excited. To religions at the time, the word meant atheism. In addition, it had to carry all the dislike of the Jew and meant a kind of Jew. To the politician at the time, it was pacifistic and, in addition, communistic. To the moralist, it was a nocturnal gathering in secret, promiscuous, he had heard. It was socially low and in all other ways dangerous.

Then the process began of putting other things into the mind to be called up when the word "Christian" was spoken. Somebody met one of them; went to the meetings, nothing startling, some hymns, a talk and a meal; it got out that they loved one another. Although hard to do, people like to hear about those who can live that way. Then they found that they were not Jews and that at the time took away a whole section of unpleasant associations. It seemed that they did have a God and that took away another section. They seemed honest, most of them were servants, and an honest servant is something pleasant in any generation. When they had need, they showed courage. Maybe it was not worth being thrown to the lions for it, but they thought it was, and that gave a quality to their courage. Physical courage always excites favorable reactions, for most shrink from pain. If there is moral courage with it, that adds, whether you agree or not. Gradually, the name took on all these agreeable and complimentary associations. It went from a word for those who could not do anything good to the name of those who could not do anything bad, and both gross exaggerations. Christians never were as bad as that and never as good. This is the way of words, too bad to mention, then, too good to mention except in superlatives. All one way or the other is seldom the way of truth.

The word "democrat" has gone through a like process. At first, to anyone who was anybody, it suggested only a dour, down person who did not tip his hat to his betters; wanted Parliaments and killed kings. Likely we should have been against them. Then, democracy successfully disposed of a king or so and came over here and got wealthy. For a word to win always helps. New York, standing up there so high, rich and grand, did a lot for democracy. Then those who would have been fixed back in Europe, bowing and wearing their livery of service, came over here; got Stetson hats they would not take off for anyone; got a quarter section, then a Ford, got to be Sheriff, State Senator and Congressman. All these pleasant things got associated with "democrat" and the first meaning, a little plebeian, fighting, ill-mannered rebel, dropped away from the word.

As a religious body, we have been conditioned to hear certain words of religious import without raising a heart beat, words that in many sections are still very exciting. Infidel, atheist, agnostic, freethinker, each meaning something different, all had the same association in the popular mind, and all bad. Sound either name and it called up one who could not be believed in court. Saying, "So help me God," did not mean anything on his lips. Then all such people likely were immoral; did not send their children to Sunday School and they would likely grow up and rob the bank. Not having the evidence of salvation, they all would die miserable deaths. Infidels and atheists were said always to die in great agony, and, of course, go to hell.

Then the process of change began. Locally, the name might suggest the leading citizen of the place. Books came out on the town infidel giving him a reputation quite up to the local deacon. When those named with these names were brought together, they were not the lowest of the place; were not immoral, or dishonest, and did not die in agony at the last. Then Huxley came along and called himself an agnostic, coined the word, and one did not mind being put under the same name with him. When we hear the word now it is just as likely as not to suggest a professor, or every other person one meets in his circle. The word agnostic got so respectable that its reputation helped draw the old disrepute from the other words of its class. Now these words, once about the worst one could be called, are almost badges of distinction. These words, Christian and democrat, went through the change before we came. They came to us suggesting only the most agreeable things. The change in the words of anti-religious connotation was being worked out when we here were just beginning to use words.

In our time we have watched the word "Socialist" go through the process. We can remember when it called up a being with a dirty collar, who would not work and wanted those who had to divide with him. Almost anyone you did not like, who differed in any way on property and tariff, was likely to draw the term. Then it began to acquire pleasanter associations for those who could curb their excitement to hear about them, the things done together, service at cost, city water and carrying the mail, with the bills not large. This suggested a much pleasanter meaning, small bills are always pleasant. Then things happened making private property and competition not so agreeable as they were. As getting it fiercely, alone, ceased to yield so much, what might be had together came to be looked upon as a less disagreeable possibility. Here and there a bishop and socialite added their names and that helped. Then a poll of the clergy showed about one-third of them, and the city fellows, too, who marked this as their preference among the ways to live. Now the name is more likely to call up the pleasant image of Norman Thomas, no unwashed rebel with soiled linen, who sends his children to private school; can hold his own on page and platform; practices no cult of poverty and commonness. In the generation just ahead it will be one of the more conservative words, meaning what many would gladly accept in compromise to save from something understood to be worse. It takes its place with those now accepted words "Christian," "democrat," and "agnostic" which have passed from ill-repute to meanings that most feel a little flattered to have applied to them.

Wholly apart from its merit, whether the worst or the best way to live together, "Communism," bids fair to be the word in process in the years just ahead. Sound this word here and there in company and note the effect. To some it is a shock, calling up only horrible sights, sounds and odors. They knew someone who was killed in the revolution. All the toll of all the dead in the war, with the gain not clear, is more familiar and less exciting. Here for our day is the word that tenses the mind. Instead of having three ideas of Communism, those all derogatory, and maybe all wrong, one might add another. It is a way the early Christians are said to have tried, and numerous bands of inoffensive people since, usually without lasting success. It may be that one would not like Russians under any system. It helps, to get perspective, to recall how long it took our own now very proper country, once traitors, renegades and treason-breeders, to get recognized by those to whom the newest venture then was the wildest word. Then, in an experiment covering one-sixth of the globe, something might be found to relieve a little the horror of the name. It would be against the law of probability that so many, over so vast a territory, doing so many things, would not do something that would merit praise. It is no doubt the part of prudence to get used to it now. It looks like the word might be around for some time. It is not that one will be for it. It is that in live circles the word is bound to be encountered as warning or as hope. Always to be excited about it to such a degree, would prove taxing in time to both nerve and temper.

We would save you from both their houses, from those to whom words mean unmentionable horror or unmixed glory. Things are hardly ever like that except in the world of words; never as bad as the worst words mean nor as good as the best. Pay the tribute of a well-stocked mind to any word, especially in the fields where words are hot and judgment seldom cool. The relation between what is in the mind and its proneness to sudden rise in temperature, is too close to be coincidence. With clear and steady eye, look them over, both the words that come dripping with dire prophecy and those garlanded with promise of impossible good.

Cardenas, Master of Mexico

GEORGE L. THOMPSON

In the old town of Jiquilpan, in the Alpine state of Michoacan, to the west of the city of Mexico, there was born about forty-five years ago a son to a family named Cardenas. He was christened Lazaro. He was the first born of a family of eight children. The house in which he was born is still standing, a typical Mexican house. The passerby sees only a bare cement wall built flush with the street, broken at intervals with long grilled windows and a door.

Lazaro Cardenas is of mixed Spanish and Indian blood. In some respects his early life reminds one of that of the late Huey Long of Louisiana. While yet a boy in his early teens, his father died and he found himself at the head of a family with very limited means of support. He left school and secured employment in a printing office to help support the family.

Politics seems to be in the blood of all Mexicans with Spanish ancestry. This boy early became interested in civic affairs and we find him at the age of fourteen in public service as the assistant tax collector of the municipality of Jiquilpan. Before he was eighteen he had added to his duties that of warden of the local jail. Today he is President of Mexico and one of the most enlightened and progressive rulers in the world.

In the period of Cardenas' youth, a tide of revolution was sweeping over Mexico. The pent-up forces which had accumulated during the long, cruel reign of the Dictator Diaz had broken loose as they always do after a period of absolutism, and will soon do in Europe. A bright, ambitious young man like Cardenas could not escape the revolutionary tide. Nearly every able-bodied man in Jiquilpan de Juarez had gone to the army. The eighteen-year old warden had but one prisoner in the jail, and it was rather dull work looking after this lone inmate. One day the idea came to him, why not take some part in this revolutionary movement? He talked the matter over with his prisoner. A bargain was made. They would start out, a company of two. Cardenas was to be the captain, and the prisoner the private. Soon other recruits were attracted to enlist under the leadership of this handsome,

precocious young captain, and Cardenas soon found himself in command of a real company. This was in July, 1913, and it was not long before we find him duly commissioned in the army of General Venustiano Carranza. He proved himself to be a first-class fighting man, taking part in a great number of conflicts in which he showed a high order of military ability coupled with personal bravery.

In seven years he was a full-fledged general, having been appointed to the command of a division on May 20, 1920, the day before he celebrated his twenty-fifth anniversary. This is not the place to dwell upon his career as a soldier, but we may note that while in military service he became famed for his honesty and devotion to duty.

He has always been noted for his antagonism to graft in any form. In his thought any public office is a public trust. Incidentally, the reputation of Mexicans as grafters seems undeserved when compared with politicians in this and other countries. The only authenticated attempt at grafting, which came to my attention while in Mexico, was engineered by a citizen of the United States. When Cardenas was general, he was allotted $100,000 (Mexican money) a month for "extraordinary expenses." At the end of the first month he surprised the authorities by returning $93,000 with an itemized account of the $7,000 expended. Numerous stories are extant of similar acts of honesty, and at the present time he is carrying on a special campaign against corruption in public office.

His political career has been but little less spectacular than his military advancement. The boy who began holding public office as assistant tax collector in his native village became governor of his native state of Michoacan after leaving the army. His efficient administration as governor led directly to his elevation to the high office of President of the Republic of Mexico. When his term as governor expired, he was made garrison commander at Pueblo, and in 1931 he became Minister of War. He held this office five months and then resigned.

He was inaugurated as President on December 1, 1934. If one studies him in his own country, the key to his political aspirations soon becomes evident. While there is very little racial prejudice in Mexico, there is enough race consciousness to count in politics. It is apparent that Cardenas has staked his political career on the Indian, that is, on the masses in Mexico, for in approximately four out of five Mexicans the Indian blood predominates. Cardenas has had the astuteness to see that here is the man power which is essential for the control of Mexico, whether at the ballot box or on the battlefield. The army is practically all Indian.

Further, Cardenas knows what the Indians want. It is emblazoned on their revolutionary banner, "Tierra y Libertad," land and liberty. He has in substance added another word, education.

Under the Diaz regime, the system of land tenure had reached its worst. The whole country had been parcelled out to a few great landholders, some estates comprising not less than 300,000 acres. A curious feature of this situation was that while the Indians in many instances held the deeds to the land, they were serfs on their own property. These estates are being divided under Cardenas with as little injustice to all as can be practised under the circumstances. Apparently the great landholders are being paid something for the land. In one day (May 1, 1935, Mexican Labor Day) 552,936 hectares of land were distributed to 353 villages representing 36,856 heads of families.

Not since the days of the Montezumas have the Indians had as much civil and political liberty. Cardenas is most democratic. There is something Jeffersonian in his habits. When he became President it was taken for granted that he would live in the Chapultepec Castle as had practically all rulers of Mexico since the country became independent. Instead, he occupies a modest residence, saying that a palace is not a fit residence for the ruler of a democratic people.

His one luxury is an automobile which is one of the best in Mexico.

He is a great believer in popular education. He has coöperated in the new educational policy in Mexico of giving elementary education to the masses rather than stressing higher education for the few.

Aside from the National Lottery, he has practically eliminated gambling which is the age-old vice of Mexicans.

The one reform which he has been unable to put into effect is national prohibition. The vast Pulque industry, the German brewers, and the politicians thus far have been too strong for him.

In his personal habits, he is almost puritanical. He neither smokes nor drinks. He shuns publicity, and prefers outdoor life to office routine. He arises at five in the morning and seems never to take a vacation. He is fond of horses and, like most Mexicans, is a superb horseman.

His attitude toward the church is enigmatical to most Americans. He is quoted as saying that he hopes the churches will be open in the future as they have been in the past. He is not a bigot nor a persecutor. His position is that the Catholic hierarchy must keep out of politics in Mexico. Certain restrictive laws are upon the statute books, possibly some of them are too severe, but they are there and therefore will be enforced. He recently told an American newspaper correspondent that Mexico has been and is predominantly Catholic, but that the new generation of Mexicans have found a new religion. "It is the religion of work and mutual service."

Politically his policy is to reverse everything that was characteristic of the Diaz regime. Diaz gave everything to the foreigner and nothing to Mexicans. His motto is Mexico for the Mexicans. Diaz encouraged foreign investments. Cardenas prefers to have foreigners keep out. Diaz was ruthless in his treatment of his enemies. Cardenas is humane. When he discovers a plot, he simply arrests the plotters and gives them a trip out of the country by airplane or steamship.

He has an ambitious program of reform but faces a Herculean task in the face of the illiteracy, ignorance, and poverty of the masses and the determined opposition of the old aristocracy, the church hierarchy, and foreign exploiters.

The question is often asked whether he is a Communist in his political philosophy. Apparently he is not. He has adopted some of the communistic theories, but thus far he has curbed both military authority and ultra-radical labor leaders.

On my desk is a letter from a man who has lived in Mexico for many years, and has always been a great admirer of Diaz, but in this letter he says, "Cardenas is the best president Mexico has ever had."

Look to Scandinavia

E. R. BOWEN

America should look to Scandanavia! There they have largely abolished the three great economic evils which so beset us today—unemployment, poverty, and tenancy. There they are eliminating loss of jobs, loss of incomes, and loss of ownership. There they are fast achieving the "inalienable economic rights" of the people to work, to live, and to own. There they are establishing "economic democracy" as well as political democracy. There they are preserving liberty and using education as the means of evolution, rather than establishing minority dictatorships and adopting violence.

Never before had we seen the economic evils of America so clearly as we did in the late summer of 1937 when we had an opportunity for the first time of spending two months in Europe. As the *Queen Mary* sailed out of the harbor of New York it seemed to us, standing on the stern of the boat and looking back at the receding shore line, that we could see more clearly than ever before the three great economic evils which are rampant in America today—unemployment, poverty, and tenancy.

We do not even know today accurately the number of those who are unemployed. We have persistently dodged until now taking a census of unemployment, which should be made and kept up to date all the time. The government deceived us when the 1930 general census was taken and under-reported the number of unemployed, as was revealed by the resignation of the man who was in charge of that section and who refused to permit the false report to go unchallenged, even though he could not prevent his superior cabinet officer from making it. We count carefully the number of pigs that are slaughtered, but we have not cared enough about the number of human beings who are discarded by the present economic system to even count them. Since we are handicapped by the lack of an official government census, which we should have, necessarily we must depend upon estimates. These vary according to the "economic predilections" of the estimators. However, the figure of ten million unemployed is the one most generally accepted.

The research study of the Brookings Institution has given us the best figures on distribution of incomes that we have had. They report that 36,000 families at the top of the economic scale receive as much income as 11,000,000 families at the bottom. Again, they show that 1/10 of our families, or the 24,000 at the top, receive an average of $1,000 per family per day, while 20 per cent of our families, or the 5,500,000 at the bottom, receive only a little more than $1 per family per day.

Farm tenancy has been steadily increasing until it has reached a total of 42 per cent of the farmers; it includes nearly half the acreage. City tenancy has reached over 50 per cent and is distributed nearly equally over the different sections of the country.

These are the statistical facts about our three great economic evils of unemployment, poverty, and tenancy. The human illustrations are unending and the effects immeasurable. They are all summed up graphically in a single family when a boy of twelve years commits suicide to relieve his family of another mouth to feed and the facts are then revealed of a father unemployed and ill, a family with only a starvation relief income, and almost dispossessed of even personal property. President Roosevelt summed up America's condition in the challenging sentence, "I see a nation one-third ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-housed." And this is America today.

Yet, in contrast to the economic hell we are in, it would be possible for everyone in America to live in a heaven of plenty. We are a "chosen" people in having discovered a "Promised Land," flowing with milk and honey. Our natural, rich resources and productive capacity enabled us to produce a total of $90,000,000,000 of wealth in 1929. This was an average of $749 per person for every man, woman, and child in America. Our families average a little over four members, which, multiplied out, means that we actually produced $3,000 per average family in 1929. And we not only actually produced $90,000,000,000 worth of wealth but, according to *The Chart of Plenty,* we had the resources and capacity to have produced a total of $135,000,000,000 which would have meant an average per family of four of $4,370.

Why, then, with an actual production of $3,000 and a possible production of $4,370 per family, do we permit such unemployment, poverty, and tenancy? For it is in our own hands to determine. We, the people of America, have permitted ourselves to largely lose our birthright—we have largely lost the ownership of the land we live in.

There are two primary necessities, the first is willingness and the second is knowledge. "We are at the door of the Promised Land and cannot enter in because of our lack of spiritual life." We are not yet willing to live as brothers; we are not willing to follow the Second Commandment and love our brothers and ourselves equally economically. Eventually we must face the simple question, "Am I willing that every other family of four should have an income of $3,000 per year if my family of four has an income of $3,000 per year?" When we are willing, we can readily adjust the distribution of our total income to provide for any just differences in needs and capacities. A French film has this significant title, "When Mankind Is Willing!"

There must also be widespread knowledge among the people as to what to do. We must know the best theories and the best analysis as to the cause of our economic diseases. Probably Henry Pratt Fairchild has stated the best theory in the simplest way. In *The Fallacy of Profits,* he deduced this general law, "In a fully capitalized society true profits must always be limited by the owner's capacity to consume." This theory is supported by the statistical analysis of Brookings Institution. In the summary of their findings in *Income and Economic Progress,* the primary cause of our economic diseases is said to be the accumulation of surplus savings in the hands of a few. Two per cent of the families who received incomes of over $10,000 per year still saved, after regular and riotous living, a total of $10,000,000,000, or two-thirds of our total savings in 1929. The other $5,000,000,000 was saved by the 98 per cent. Likewise they report that five billions of savings was enough for normal invest-

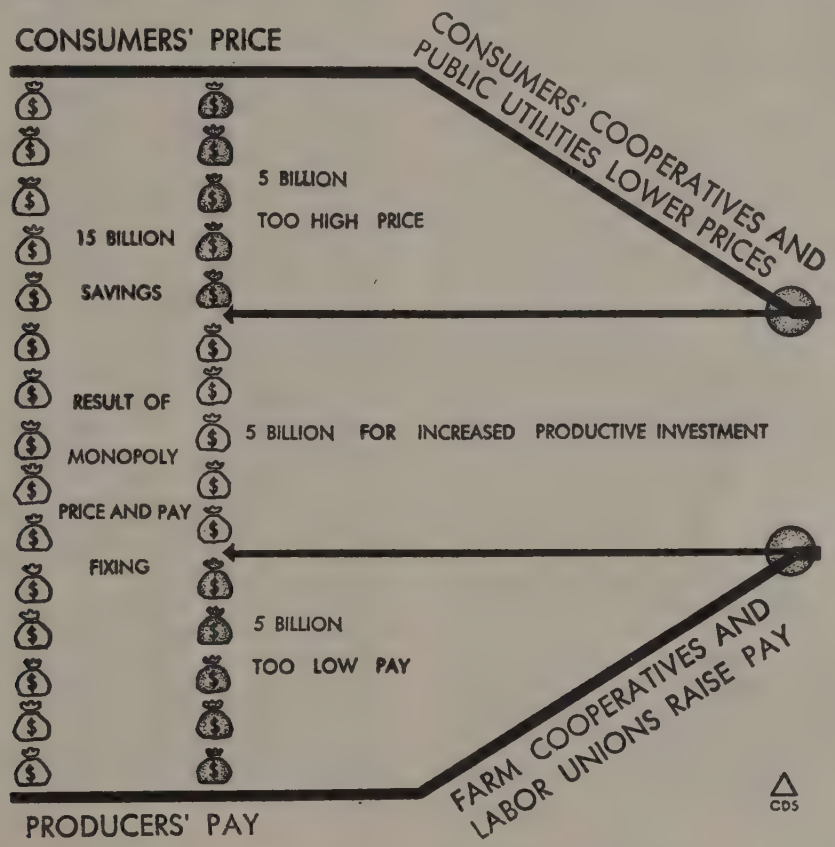
ment in new productive equipment. In other words, the ten billions was unnecessary savings, as well as the primary cause of our economic difficulties. We must then learn how best to distribute the ten billions equitably in order to take the brakes off the wheels of production and thus eliminate unemployment, poverty, and tenancy.

We did not study the dictatorial countries of Europe. We knew that they do not have the answer that America wants to adopt. So we went into France, Switzerland, Denmark, Finland, Sweden, England, and Scotland, hunting a democratic solution for unemployment, poverty, and tenancy. We asked everywhere, "Have you any unemployment, poverty and tenancy?" Not until we reached Finland and Sweden did we receive altogether favorable answers. There, in answer to the question, "Do you have any unemployment?" they answered, "No." "Have you any poverty?" The answer was, "No dire poverty since everyone has a minimum income from a job and we are constantly narrowing the standard of living between the well-to-do and the poor." Then the final question, "Have you any tenancy?" And the statistics were given to prove that tenancy was rapidly being eliminated. All this in countries where the people are politically, religiously, and educationally free. So we stopped in our quest and remained in these modern "Promised Lands" to learn of the remedies they had applied to solve the economic diseases with which we are afflicted.

The accompanying chart will illustrate the cause of our economic diseases, as analyzed by Brookings Institution, and the remedies as applied by Scandinavia.

This chart makes the answer self-explanatory. Assume, for illustration, that five billions of the savings, which Brookings reported that America had in 1929, was the result of too high prices to consumers and another five billions was the result of too low pay to producers. Then, by organizing Consumers' Coöperatives and Public Utilities, Scandinavia has set up a yardstick and reduced prices; by organizing Farm Coöperatives and Labor Unions they have set up a yardstick and raised pay. This, of course, both overstates and over-simplifies what they have done. They have not finished with applying these remedies. But they have done so to the extent that unemployment is almost eliminated, poverty is disappearing, and tenancy is being abolished. They have indeed only applied the remedies that the Brookings Institution report suggests that America should apply.

With this groundwork of theoretical and statistical analysis of the causes of our economic diseases and the experience of Scandinavia in proving out the remedies, we should be able to solve our own difficulties here in America. It is only a case of being willing to do so, of thinking our way through in applying remedies which have already proved effective, and of developing the necessary organizations to do it.



We already have developed large nation-wide producers' organizations in both the farm and labor fields. Farm Coöperatives now number in their membership 3,280,000 of the six million farmers in the United States and do a seasonal business of $1,530,000,000. They have developed principally in the fruit, grain, livestock, dairy, and cotton fields. They have become an effective factor in eliminating waste in the handling of their products up to the principal processing stage, and by group marketing have increased the pay to farm producers. Labor is again in a great organizational

drive and numbers over seven million members in all. Labor, like organized farmers, has pushed up the pay level by group bargaining. On the side of organization as producers, we are on the way in America to push up the pay line for both farmers and labor, and to distribute among producers generally the excess savings which now go into the pockets of the few as the result of too low pay to producers.

As a whole, however, organization as consumers is only getting started! Since organizing as consumers means going into business, rather than becoming members of a bargaining organization, it is not possible to successfully develop Consumers' Coöperatives by great drives. The people must begin by studying how to run businesses on Rochdale coöperative principles, then they must learn by practice how to perform for themselves the functions of distribution and production of finished products which we have turned over to private middlemen, who now act between us as producers and consumers.

However, even though we are now purchasing only a little more than 1 per cent of our food and goods coöperatively, we have begun to prove to ourselves that we, in America, can build up powerful coöperatives as they have done in Scandinavian and other countries. After many false starts over the past half century, the farmers after the war finally started on the right road in dead earnest. They now purchase one-eighth or 12½ per cent of their farm supplies coöperatively. They have developed, largely in the past ten years, twenty-nine large wholesale groups, each of which does a minimum volume of over a million dollars. They have entered principally into the handling of feed, seed, and fertilizer in the East and petroleum products in the Central West. Likewise they have developed strong coöperative associations in the automobile, fire, and life insurance fields. They are now increasingly entering into the field of coöperative purchasing of household needs such as groceries and clothing.

City residents have begun to be aroused to the need of organizing as consumers into coöperatives only within the past few years. The reason probably is due to the fact that the cities did not feel the full force of depression until after 1929, while farmers have had to undergo it since 1920. By the false foundation of credits to foreign countries and the stimulation of installment selling, we kept our factory production going and our pay rolls up from 1920 to 1929, when farm prices were constantly depressed. However, after the first shock of 1929 had worn off and city residents began to realize that we were in for a permanent depression under the present economic order, they began to hunt for real remedies and are learning that they can lower prices they pay for food, goods, and services by consumer coöperative organization. A wave of interest developed and consumers' coöperative grocery stores and oil stations have been organized in many cities. Enough time has passed to indicate that city people can operate their own businesses as organized consumers, as rural residents have previously proved. While the number of coöperative stores and oil stations in cities is small, they are germs of the new coöperative economic society that is developing. It has been only fifteen years since the farmers started their first coöperative oil station and now there are over 2,000 of them. There is no reason to assume that city consumers cannot and will not develop coöperatives in increasing numbers from now on.

Every adult in America should begin to study the Consumers' Coöperative Movement and learn what you can do by organizing together with your fellow consumers in reducing the price level and thus distributing into your pockets the excess billions of savings which result from high prices. This means much more than the widespread distribution of a few billion dollars; it means even more than eliminating the three great economic evils of unemployment, poverty, and tenancy; it means taking the brakes off the wheels of industry and increasing the food and goods we can produce until everyone is surfeited with plenty.

You should join a coöperative if one is already organized near you. If not, you should help organize a local neighborhood store or oil station and begin to "help clear your own little corner of creation." No one has more responsibility than you have for unemployment, poverty, and tenancy in America. The question is, are you willing to apply brotherhood to business, will you begin to study how to do it, and then will you help organize your neighborhood into a "Coöperative Community Beautiful"?

Symbols of Peace

BRENT DOW ALLINSON

It is an interesting fact, of which North and South Americans may well be proud, that the two most famous symbolic statues of the world—and with the exception of the Egyptian Sphinx the world's largest—stand in the Western Hemisphere. They stand at the principal eastern gateways of the United States and Chile, and they are dedicated respectively to liberty and peace—to the historic alliance of the United States and France in the war for American independence from British tyranny and imperialism, and in the cause of the democratic rights of man; and to the more recent alliance of Chile and Argentina in the cause of peace, disarmament, arbitration and reciprocity.

Prompted by the celebration, in 1876, of the first centennial of American independence, our own great goddess has lifted her symbolic torch, held in a 40-foot Amazonian arm, 250 feet above the windy waters of New York Bay, for fifty-one years. Its building was first proposed by Edouard de Laboulaye, eminent French historian and political commentator. The response of the people of France was immediate, and money-raising campaigns were launched with public fetes and entertainments. Gounod, the famous composer of "Faust," dedicated a song to the statue (sung at the opera), which was created by a young Alsatian sculptor, Frederic Auguste Bartholdi. (The original 36-foot model stands today, in Paris, on the left bank of the Seine.) Although the cost of enlarging it to a giantess, 152 feet tall, with a face 10 feet wide, and of transporting and erecting it on Bedloe's Island (set

aside for it by act of Congress), was almost a million francs, and was far greater than at first estimated, by 1880 every sou had been contributed in France by popular subscription, without governmental assistance.

The cost of the 150-foot pedestal, erected on top of the ramparts of old Fort Wood, was $225,000—almost as much as the statue—and was raised by the efforts of an American committee of 400, including William M. Evarts, Henry Spaulding, Richard Butler, Theodore Roosevelt, Joseph H. Choate, Anson Phelps Stokes, James W. Pinchot, John Jay, and many other prominent Americans.

On March 16, 1885, the *New York World,* under the leadership of Joseph Pulitzer, took up the lagging crusade for funds, assailing public indifference in daily editorials. Through benefit performances, sporting events, and public entertainments the *World* was able to announce completion of the fund by August 11, 1885, two months after the arrival of the great statue from France, shipped in 214 specially constructed cases varying in weight from a few hundred pounds to several tons, on the French ship *Isere.*

Assembled and erected under supervision of Bartholdi and the prominent French engineer, Eiffel, on four huge iron pylons, to withstand the air pressure and high winds of the wide bay, it represents the Goddess of Liberty, crowned with light, a broken shackle lying at her feet, stepping forward and clasping in her left hand the Declaration of Independence, while her upraised right arm holds aloft a lighted torch, or beacon (now composed of fifteen 1,000-watt bulbs), with its promise of freedom for the world. With impressive ceremonies it was finally dedicated by President Grover Cleveland, October 28, 1886, Bartholdi himself being present. The principal addresses were made by Count Ferdinand de Lesseps, the builder of the Suez Canal; the French Ambassador, LeFaivre; William Evarts and Chauncey M. Depew, whose oration, according to Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, "was by all odds the greatest which that accomplished orator ever delivered." "Today," he said, "in the gift by one, and the acceptance by the other of this colossal statue, the people of the two free countries celebrate their unity in republican institutions, in governments founded upon the American idea, and in their devotion to intellectual and political liberty. Together they rejoice that its spirit, incarnated by LaFayette, has penetrated all lands and is the hopeful future of all peoples."

Are we half so hopeful and confident today? Even Dr. Butler admits that

> "the promise of 50 years ago has faded into the background and liberty is on trial for its life in ways and under circumstances which are as alarming as they are novel. If a French visitor were to turn his eyes to Russia, to Germany, to Italy, to Spain or to the Balkan Peninsula, he would find that liberty, had it ever lived in any of those lands, was now to be numbered there among the illustrious dead."

But how fares it in Latin America? There the ideal of social and international peace burns more brightly in the hearts of Christian peoples than that of intellectual liberty—and perhaps burns more deeply than it does with us. Is it not true that in Mexico and Brazil fundamental and political revolutions are in process, working themselves out with a minimum of violence?

South American ideals of social justice and international peace culminated in, and are superbly symbolized by, the heroic bronze figure of Christ the Redeemer, 26 feet tall, which stands in the Uspallata Pass, on the boundary line between the two southernmost republics of America, surveying the giant snow-sown Andean peaks of Tupungato and Aconcagua. Facing west, standing upon a granite hemisphere upon whose surface the American continent is pictured in bronze (Chile and Argentina appear just below the right foot of the figure), its left hand embraces a still taller cross, while its right is raised as though pronouncing an exhortation, or benediction, upon the Andes and the whole Western world.

Dedicated March 13, 1904, by the presidents of the two republics (Julio Roca of Argentina, German Riesco of Chile) in an elaborate ceremony, it has been a cherished symbol of American brotherhood and peace for a third of a century, and the anniversary of its dedication is annually celebrated still by the dwindling number of living contributors to the fund that made its erection possible.

Other statues of great size have been erected in South America—one on the highest hill in the outskirts of Rio de Janeiro, another on the mountain "El Calvario" at Puerto Varas, Chile, and a third on the Morro at Arica. But "the Christ of the Andes" is the best known and most admired of all, because of the political ideal whose fulfillment it symbolizes.

A good bishop—Msgr. Marcolino Benevente of the diocese of San Juan, on the Argentine side of the Andes—in furtherance of a religious exhortation contained in an encyclical of Pope Leo XIII, dated November 1, 1900 (called the "Tametsi," quoting John xii. 32: "And if I be lifted up from the earth, I will draw all men unto Me"), proposed in a pastoral letter the erection upon a mountain within his see of a statue to symbolize the consecration of a large portion of mankind to the founder of Christianity and their duty "to adjust their political differences, and arrive at that mutual understanding which is the very essence of an enduring peace." It was, however, a distinguished woman—Senora Angela de Oliveira de Costa, founder, in 1907, of the Universal Peace Society, and president of the Christian Mothers' Association of Buenos Aires—to whom the principal credit goes for carrying into execution the bishop's brave idea.

Early in 1903 a series of peace pacts and boundary treaties between Argentina and Chile was concluded in Buenos Aires and the presence of the Chilean commission was the occasion for great public celebrations. By one of these treaties both nations agreed "to submit to arbitration all questions of whatever nature or from whatever cause which may arise between them, not affecting the constitutions of the one or the other." By another—the first treaty in history, apparently, stipulating the renunciation of war vessels already ordered and initiating a naval "holiday"—both governments agreed "to cease and desist from making new naval acquisitions * * * agree to reduce their respective fleets * * * until they arrive at an understanding which shall establish a just balance of strength between the said fleets." Senora de Costa suggested to President Roca that the conclusion of these memorable treaties, terminating a period of acute international tension between the neighboring republics, should be commemorated in perpetuity by the erection of the statue on the mountainous common boundary line, and her suggestion was finally accepted.

The model adopted was the work of Mateo Alonso, a young Argentinian, and 40,000 pesos were contributed by the government of Argentina toward meeting the

costs of transportation and erection. The site finally chosen was the famous pass, 13,780 feet above sea level, by means of which San Martin's victorious revolutionary army passed over the Andes to effect the conquest of Santiago and, in conjunction with Bolivar's Colombians coming down from the north, the final liberation of Chile and Peru from the oppressive Bourbonism of Spain (1821-24). The great statue had to be shipped by rail over 750 miles from Buenos Aires to Mendoza, and from there hauled 115 miles over the mountains by mules along the "Camino de las Cuevas," which was the regular route of travel between the two countries for centuries before the boring of the Transandine railway tunnel (opened April 5, 1910).

Three thousand persons gathered in the pass, near Puente del Inca, to witness the ceremony of dedication, March 13, 1904, which was opened by the firing of salutes by soldiers of both nations standing in military formation, 500 feet apart, the Chileans on Argentina soil, the Argentinians on Chilean. The beautiful plaque on the west side of the plinth, showing two female figures, arising from the leaves of the open treaties, and containing the official inscription of the Argentine government, was cast in the war department arsenal in Buenos Aires, while that placed on the north came from the organized trade unionists of Argentina (Circulos de Orreros). "To Christ the Redeemer, for the definitive peace between Argentines and Chileans—1902-04." It was, however, the Bishop of San Carlos de Ancud, who, delivering an oration at the unveiling of the monument, used the language which caught the imagination of the world—and the sentence which, at the initiative of the Rotary Clubs of Chile and Argentina, has finally (and recently) been engraved upon the base of the monument:

"And when future generations, carried in the arms of steam, mount to this spot through these defiles, they will find here no testament such as that of the heroic Spartans at Thermopylae, written in blood upon the bare stones—'Here we gave up our lives to defend our country's laws.' Rather will they come to this summit and in the bronze of this glorious monument will see, graven in letters of fire, a sublime inscription—Sooner shall these mountains crumble into dust than Argentines and Chileans break the peace which they have sworn at the feet of Christ the Redeemer."

Study Table

Niemoller

FROM U-BOAT TO PULPIT. *By Martin Niemoller. Translated from the German by Commander D. Hastie Smith. Appendix, "From Pulpit to Prison," by Henry Smith Leiper. Chicago: Willett, Clark and Company.*

It may be that much of the steadily increasing international popularity of the Reverend Martin Niemoller, lately of Berlin-Dahlem and now a political prisoner in Nazi Germany, is due to a clever "editorial buildup." One cannot help feeling that many of the hyperbolic epithets now being fastened on Niemoller are completely out of proportion with the facts and invest their subject with an aura of mystery and importance hardly deserved.

I seriously doubt whether history will agree that this militant cleric was "the Martin Luther of modern Germany" or that his sermons in *Here Stand I* are worthy of a place beside the "Theses of Martin Luther," or even that he was "Hitler's most illustrious prisoner." It may be, however, that the record of tomorrow will add to rather than subtract from these high estimates of Niemoller.

From the pages of this autobiography, covering a period of less than twenty years, emerges the figure of a brave and uncompromising man, as brave at his duties as submarine officer as he is uncompromising in his defense of Lutheran orthodoxy and dogma. From his loyalty to "the Word of God" to his ill-concealed anti-Semitism, he remains every inch the good Lutheran and traditional son of Germany's still reactionary state-church.

The book makes thrilling reading in parts. It is done with a grim objectivity, and only at times does the commentator turn philosopher and allow himself such reflection as, "suddenly, the whole complex problem of war presents itself to us and we realize something of the tragedy which it involves and which no single man could of his own volition avert or contend against," or further on, "yes, that is the real purport of life!—to hear, to receive an order, a command, and to obey it!" Here you have an indication of the type of German mind that hated the "revolution" and greeted Hitler as a Messiah, to turn against him only when it appeared that "God was to be permitted to remain in Germany only if He too would 'Heil Hitler'."

But whether Niemoller is a true hero or just another "lone voice" in a Germany gone mad, he will bear watching. There is something about this stubborn soldier and his stern devotion to duty that is promising, and he may yet, to use the terminology of U-boat Captain Niemoller, become the torpedo that sinks the ship of the Third Reich.

KARL M. CHWOROWSKY.

A Treatise on Sterilization

STERILIZATION: A CHRISTIAN APPROACH. *By Rev. J. P. Hinton and Josephine E. Calcutt.* 196 *pp. London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd.* 5*s.*

In its quiet sanity, its dignity of approach to a delicate and difficult theme, its profound sense of human responsibility and its true spiritual idealism, this book is remarkable. It is remarkable also for its precise information on a social problem of wide ramifications and almost critical importance. Sterilization is bound to be more and more discussed in the next few years, and it is fortunate that, thanks to Dr. Hinton and Miss Calcutt, we have in our hands this excellent text-book.

The authors define in the opening chapter a problem which must have a remedy—a population in our western world now beginning to be checked in quantity, but threatening a deterioration in quality through

the multiplication of the unfit at a greater rate than the fit. The physically and mentally deficient are just the ones to go right on rapidly breeding at a time when the strong in body and intelligent in mind are controlling reproduction. The integrity of the family, so central in Christian faith, and the spiritual future of mankind are both at stake.

The range and seriousness of physical defects, hereditary diseases, and feeble-mindedness are so great that neglect of the situation is no longer possible. There are methods of grappling with the evil, but none is to be compared with sterilization which alone has those qualities of permanency, simplicity, and security which other methods lack. "These three qualities," say our authors, "make it most suitable for the following reasons: In the first place, hereditary mental and physical defects are incurable and therefore there is no hope of eventually reaching a healthy state wherein one would be reasonably sure of begetting normal children; in the second place, the single operation, with no subsequent necessity of adjusting contraceptive devices nor of regular attendance of a clinic or doctor, is particularly suitable for mental defectives who . . . are not highly capable of sustained care and responsible effort; finally there are no mistakes after a sterilizing operation, as there are so often with other methods of conception control." An uncertain legal situation in England, where this book is published, calls for legislation. In this country twenty-seven states have laws in force, and results here, as in other countries which have established sterilization, show "nothing unfavorable." The safeguarding of personal liberty is of course of vital importance, and is duly respected everywhere except in Germany, where "compulsion is stipulated."

The persuasion of this book is irresistible. Objections, duly stated and considered, especially the Roman Catholic objections, crumble before its facts and arguments. How Christianity in any true sense of the word can oppose sterilization is hard to see, when one remembers that religion is concerned with human values, and that all such values are enhanced, safeguarded, and perpetuated by this practice. Especially are we convinced when we see that the defectives themselves, as well as society at large, are purified and strengthened in all the better qualities of their being. Sterilization fosters no tendency to promiscuity, conserves rather than destroys moral standards, dignifies marriage, and exalts personality. What sterilization attempts to do is to serve the general good, and this, our authors remind us, is what Jesus called the 'Kingdom of God."

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

Correspondence

In Reply to Mr. Dudley

Editor of UNITY:—

In the issue of January 3 of UNITY appears a letter from Mr. Tilford E. Dudley of the Resettlement Administration, in which he criticizes some of the statements made in my article appearing in UNITY of September 6, 1937, entitled "W.P.A.—A Professional Joke?". I have no quarrel with Mr. Dudley's belief that W.P.A. is intended to supply merely makeshift employment by the government until private employment can be obtained—though I think it has to be admitted that private employers will not readily accept such employes unless the government by remuneration and courteous treatment sustains the moral and professional self-respect of these employes.

When Mr. Tilford, however, states that the illustration I cited of the stupefaction under W.P.A. in the story of Tom Jones "does not ring true," I am compelled to seize the escutcheon of answer. If Mr. Dudley will call at my office I will open the file and show him that every fact stated in that story is true, though as a writer I might have indulged in the hypothetical. Apparently his experience as Section Chief of the Relief Administration has made him miss the humor of the concluding paragraph in the article that while being recommended for federal attorney Jones received a letter from W.P.A. that his work was "below the average." Perhaps Mr. Dudley would admit that W.P.A. is wrong if he should see a photostatic copy of a letter of the Chief in the Corporation Counsel's office where Jones was employed stating that this report is false, and that nothing was done by W.P.A. to correct the mistake?

It is surprising to what depths administrative officials will hide their heads like an ostrich rather than admit that they are dead wrong. The inference attempted by Mr. Dudley that Jones lacked personality from the fact that apparently "he could not pierce the corps of secretaries and actually talk to a Senator" (in the original manuscript, "*the* Senator" appears) is unfounded. It may be easy for a homesteader of a western state to see personally his Senator or for a sharecropper from the South to shake hands with his Senator in chambers, but although you may be a very reputable professional man of New York just try to arrange a personal interview with Senator Wagner and see if you get it by "personality."

Does Mr. Dudley think that Jones could have received a rating for professional experience and fitness from the U. S. Civil Service Commission of 91 per cent for Associate Attorney to the Federal Communications Commission and a rating of 96 per cent for Assistant Attorney, which rating is based on a detailed analysis of the cases handled by Jones over a period of five or six years, unless he possessed a strong personality? Even without being a lawyer, Mr. Dudley must know that such a high rating could not be had on the basis of actions handled through trial courts and appellate courts without its implying a strong personality.

The trouble is that in the unemployment chaos first-rate men are often finding it hard to get third-rate jobs; and much of this is due to the type of men who do the hiring.

ISIDORE A. BLANCH.

New York City.

The Power of Ostracism

Editor of UNITY:

There is almost universal detestation of the aggressive warfare being waged by Japan, but opinion differs regarding the most suitable action to be taken.

Jingoes are demanding forceful measures to redress the sinking of our ships, but the great majority of Americans insist that we keep out of war. The Neutrality Act was passed by Congress for that purpose. If it had been invoked by the President, it would have prevented the shipment of munitions to both Japan and China but would not have ended the present conflict.

Refusal by individuals to buy Japanese goods, at some loss to themselves, is a proper gesture of disapproval, but will not nullify an invasion that has progressed to the stage of successful conquest.

To be effective, an action to prevent aggression must be taken in advance and must be international in scope. The only provision for united action has been the military sanctions of the League of Nations, and they have failed. The civilized world has learned that war cannot be stopped by war.

Future aggression can be curtailed by the establishment of the principle that the peace-loving nations will sever all relationships with any nation whose troops cross the border

of another. The threat of certain ostracism would make the actual application of a boycott unnecessary in most instances.

If the League of Nations and the United States had inaugurated a complete suspension of trade when Japan first invaded Manchuria in 1931, the conquests of Manchukuo, Ethiopia, and China would have been prevented.

Our government will obtain greater security by international coöperation to prevent aggression than by reliance upon a navy that can never exceed the combined fleets of our enemies.

WILLIAM FLOYD, Director,
Peace Patriots.

New York City.

Against Cutting Relief

Editor of UNITY:

Cutting down relief means condemning many human beings to starve. Current events often recall a few lines from Arthur Hugh Clough's modern version of the Ten Commandments.

"Thou shalt not kill—but needst not strive
Officiously to keep alive.

"Thou shalt not covet—but tradition
Approves all forms of competition."

ALICE STONE BLACKWELL.

Cambridge, Mass.

The Field

(*Continued from page* 166)

Governor LaFollette Proclaims Wisconsin Coöperative Week

Governor Philip LaFollette has proclaimed the week of February 14-18 as Wisconsin Coöperative Week, urging that the people of the state "take inventory" of the possibility of "service through coöperative action," and suggested the widest possible use of radio, news channels, and the schools that week for the study of the movement.

In his proclamation setting aside Coöperative Week, Governor LaFollette declared:

"To take inventory of the important part that coöperation is playing in the economic and social welfare of our people and to emphasize the possibilities of service through coöperative action, Wisconsin Coöperative Week will be observed from February 14 to 18 of this year.

"Today, more than ever, it is recognized that many of our problems must be solved by the people themselves, working together in general educational, commodity marketing, and purchasing groups. If we are to attain the utmost good from coöperation, it is well to study and promulgate the principles of coöperative marketing as well as to acclaim the accomplishments of our various lines of coöperative endeavor in Wisconsin.

"It will be helpful to all to focus attention on this movement to extend the teaching of its principles, to define its place, and to interpret its functions.

"Now, therefore, I, Philip F. LaFollette, governor of the state of Wisconsin, do hereby designate and proclaim the week of Feb. 14 to 18, 1938, inclusive, as Wisconsin Coöperative Week and urge the people of Wisconsin to avail themselves of the opportunities provided at the time by radio, through news media, and in the schools, to study coöperation and develop its possibilities for building a better society for us and our children."

—Coöperative League News Service.

Helen Keller Sunday

March 3 next, which the President is expected to designate as National Helen Keller Day, will celebrate the 50th anniversary of the meeting of Miss Keller and her famous teacher-liberator, the late Anne Sullivan Macy, from which meeting so much benefit has come to the handicapped of our land, and in particular to the 130,000 who are without sight.

Leaders of all denominations have ranged themselves with the American Foundation for the Blind, 15 West 16th St., New York City, which is sponsoring a Helen Keller Tribute Year, to culminate on March 3, the anniversary of the date which Miss Keller calls her "spiritual birthday." Spontaneously, the idea has occurred to ministers and laymen alike to mark the Sunday preceding that 50th anniversary, February 27, as Helen Keller Sunday—an occasion to bring before congregations and Sunday schools the example of Miss Keller's courage, achievement, and service in using her own great talents for the benefit of her fellow sightless.

In anticipation of this event, the American Foundation for the Blind has prepared a Helen Keller Portfolio which contains an outline of the Helen Keller epic and interesting quotations from her writings and speeches which illustrate her spiritual insight, her abounding faith, her delight in nature and in homely pleasures, and her love of peace. The Foundation will be glad to send this Portfolio free on request to all clergymen and Sunday school superintendents who wish to use it as a basis for sermons and addresses.

Although shut out from the world of light herself, Miss Keller has done more to bring light to those who sit in actual darkness than any single individual of our time. Her example has tended to change public attitude toward the blind and to stimulate public interest in developing their potential talent and contribution to society throughout the world.

—American Foundation for the Blind.

As British Pacifists See It

Peace News, weekly newspaper of the Peace Pledge Union, reports a "British move to push the United States of America into war with Japan." This was done by concentrating attention in the press, and particularly in the *Times,* on the Panay incident. Not only did these reports ignore the unavoidable risks in a war zone, but they actually played up the Panay story far more than they ever did incidents which involved British ships.

"As Japan gets nearer to Hong Kong and becomes a more obvious menace to British interests in China," says this paper, "there has begun a campaign to work up anti-Japanese feeling in the United States."

"As long ago as the end of November (the report continues), General Sir Ian Hamilton declared that Japan was on the road to Singapore, and that nothing less than Europe could hold up her advance. The *Times* believes that at any rate Japan is on the road to Hong Kong and reveals a hope that America will hold up Japan's advance.

"It is obviously hoped that public opinion in the United States of America—where extracts from the *Times* have been quoted—inflamed against Japan, will support (perhaps even demand) strong American action. America could then (so it is hoped) pull the British chestnuts out of the fire while salvaging her own."

This step, *Peace News* hopes, will not deceive any peace-minded people in the United States. However specious the talk on either side of the Atlantic about Anglo-American coöperation, it must be made clear that these are moves in the old game of rival imperialisms, and do not make for peace."

British imperial attitudes are clear also from other press reports and editorials which speculate openly whether the United States is now ready to go to war at the side of Great Britain. Some of them fear that the United States is "not yet" ready.

—Nofrontier News Service.

V. D. and War

A great campaign is being waged throughout the country against venereal disease. Various drastic measures of control are being advocated and to some extent already practiced. Yet curiously in all this discussion there is little reference to the role of war.

In Surgeon General Thomas Parran's important book, *Shadow on the Land,* there are a few scattered references to the armed forces and the rate of syphilis there, but nothing at all about the influence of the World War.

But the facts are clear enough. "Venereal disease is a scourge fostered especially by militarism," said Vernon L. Kellogg, famous biologist. "It is the cause of more hospital admissions among soldiers than any other disease."

Statistics from the World War period are underestimates because of widespread failure by the infected to report, but medical men have estimated the venereal cases in the French army at 1,600,000, in the Austrian army at about 800,000, in the British army at more than 300,000, and in the American army at about 340,000.

Adequate statistics are also lacking for times of peace, but there again it would seem that venereal disease is more prevalent in the armed forces than among civilians. For 1935, the U. S. army reported venereal infections at the rate of 30.1 per 1,000, the navy's record was 75.56 per 1,000, while the general civilian rate was about 20 per 1,000.

A great service could be performed by an adequate study of the relation between venereal disease and war. Yet many who bravely cut through prudish silence on this menace resort to "hush-hush" on the influence of militarism.

—World Events.